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MASCULINITY-FEMININITY AND NON-IMMEDIACY OF COMMUNICATION

by

© JAMES D. HAMILL

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Masculinity-Femininity and Non-immediacy of Communication" submitted by James D. Hamill, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

In the present study, the extent to which male subjects dissociate themselves from their communications of their tender emotions was assessed by scoring their communications for non-immediacy.

It was assumed that the degree to which a male dissociates himself from the content of his communications of his tender emotions is a function of the extent to which he incorporates the stereotyped conception of the male role in North American society. Those males who had extensively incorporated the stereotyped role (high-masculine males) were expected to feel more vulnerable in communicating their tender emotions than were low-masculine males. This vulnerability was expected to be manifested in a greater level of non-immediacy of high-masculine males' communications, as compared to the communications of low-masculine males. In addition, high-masculine males were expected to feel greater vulnerability and, therefore, to be more non-immediate, when disclosing personal information to a confederate who was speaking in an immediate manner than when speaking to a non-immediate confederate. In contrast, low-masculine males were expected to feel more vulnerable and, therefore, to be more non-immediate, when disclosing to a non-immediate confederate than when speaking with an immediate confederate.

Subjects were 40 male undergraduates, chosen on the basis of their scores on an indicator of masculinity-femininity. The hypotheses were investigated in a 2 x 2 factorial design. The independent variables were the subjects' masculinity-femininity and the confederate's non-immediacy.

Neither the underlying assumptions nor the predictions were supported by the data. However, both high- and low-masculine males reciprocated the confederate's level of non-immediacy, and both groups of males felt vulnerable under conditions inverse to those expected.

Discussion of the results included the possible limitations of the instrument employed to measure masculinity-femininity, as well as suggestions for future research.

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I thank Gary Collier for his help in reaching an acceptable reliability coefficient for the depth of disclosure scale.

Thank you, Mindy, for scoring all those communications for intimacy. I'm sorry we didn't get significant results.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
ABSTRACT		iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS		vii
LIST OF TABLES		ix
CHAPTER		
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	Non-Immediacy	5
	Research Hypotheses	9
	Hypothesis I	9
	Hypothesis II	10
II.	METHOD	11
	Design	11
	Subjects	11
	Masculinity-Femininity	12
	Disclosure Topics	13
	Non-Immediacy Manipulation	13
	Procedure	14
	Dependent Measures	16
	Non-Immediacy	16
	Depth of Self-Disclosure	17
	Length of Communication	18
	Post-Experimental Questionnaire	18
III.	RESULTS	19
	Analysis of the Data	19

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

	Page
Hypothesis I	20
Hypothesis II	20
Related Analysis	22
IV. DISCUSSION	23
TABLES	28
BIBLIOGRAPHY	36
APPENDICES	39
APPENDIX A: Gough Femininity Scale	40
APPENDIX B: Vulnerability Scale	46
APPENDIX C: Confederate's Communications	52
APPENDIX D: Topic List	63
APPENDIX E: Non-Immediacy Criteria	65
APPENDIX F: Depth of Self-Disclosure Criteria	74
APPENDIX G: Post-Experimental Questionnaire	77
APPENDIX H: Summary of Analysis of Variance of Subjects' Rating of How Closely Confederate Listened to Them	81
APPENDIX I: Summary of Analysis of Variance of Subjects' Confidence that Confederate would not Ridicule Them	83
APPENDIX J: Summary of Analysis of Variance of Subject Non-immediacy in Response to the Experimental Conditions	85
APPENDIX K: Summary of Analysis of Variance of Subjects' Self-Rated Anxiety	87
APPENDIX L: Summary of Analysis of Variance of Subjects' Overall Evaluation of Confederate	89

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Description	Page
1	Subjects' Self-Rated Vulnerability as a Function of Masculinity-Femininity and Immediacy-Non-immediacy	29
2	Average Non-immediacy Scores on Four Test Topics as a Function of Masculinity-Femininity and Immediacy-Non-immediacy	31
3	Subjects' Rated Liking for Confederate as a Function of Masculinity-Femininity and Immediacy-Non-immediacy	32
4	Average Depth of Disclosure Scores on Four Test Topics as a Function of Masculinity-Femininity and Immediacy-Non-immediacy	33
5	Subjects' Self-Rated Anxiety as a Function of Masculinity-Femininity and Immediacy-Non-immediacy	34
6	Subjects' Overall Evaluation of Confederate as a Function of Masculinity-Femininity and Immediacy-Non-immediacy	35

INTRODUCTION

The male role in North American society, as stereotypically conceived, suggests that, to effectively fulfill this role, men should be pragmatic, unsentimental and assertive, and that they should not be tender, sensitive and needful of others. To the extent that men incorporate these role expectations, the result may be that they defensively dissociate themselves from those emotions which are inconsistent with these expectations, e.g., liking, insecurity, hurt feelings, etc. The contrast of male-role expectations and female-role expectations has been pointed out by Mussen, et al. (1963):

> Typically, boys are expected to be strong, courageous, assertive, and ambitious. Girls, in contrast, are expected to be sociable, well-mannered, and neat, but to inhibit verbal and physical aggression...in virtually every relevant study of preschool and school-age children, aggressive behavior has been found to be more frequent among boys than girls...boys are increasingly expected through the middle childhood and adolescence years to suppress fear and to control expression of emotion in times of stress. In contrast, expressions of fear, hurt feelings, and general emotional upset are considered more acceptable for girls (Mussen, et al., 1963, p. 504-505).

Therefore, role expectations of females in North American culture allow them fuller overt expression of those emotions typically conceived of as tender, e.g., hurt feelings, fear, emotional upset, etc., whereas role expectations of males restrict their overt expression of such emotions.

Jourard (1964) suggests that there is no reason to believe

that men have fewer tender emotions than do women. Therefore, it follows that men, to the extent that they incorporate the stereotyped male-role, hide these emotions from others. One possibility is that men hide their tender emotions by avoiding disclosure of these emotions, or by avoiding others who disclose them. Or, a second possibility is that they do discuss these emotions, but they defensively dissociate themselves from them. Rogers(1961)refers to this process as disowning or avoiding responsibility for one's own experience.

The first of these possibilities, i.e., that men avoid disclosure of these emotions, has received some attention from psychologists studying self-disclosure. Several studies which used Jourard's(1964)scale of self-reported disclosure (Dimond and Munz, 1967; Himelstein and Lubin, 1965; Hood and Back, 1971; Jourard, 1961; Jourard and Landsman, 1960; Jourard and Lasakow, 1958; Jourard and Richman, 1963; Pedersen and Higbee, 1969; Ryckman, Sherman, and Burgess, 1973), and two which used measures of actual disclosure (Kopfstein and Kopfstein, 1973; Pedersen and Breglio, 1968), have indicated that women typically reveal more personal information than do men. Although several studies have reported no sex differences in self-disclosure (Cozby, 1973), the fact that no study has reported a greater level of self-disclosure for males may be indicative of actual sex differences. Further evidence which suggests that these sex differences are a function of sex-role incorporation is presented in a study by Skypeck (1967). She found that the sexes did not differ in overall

amount of self-disclosure up to the age of 12. However, at age 12 subjects reported the beginnings of a divergence between males' and females' amount of disclosure, with females disclosing more than males. Skypeck's study, plus the studies cited above which found significant sex differences in college-age youth, suggest that in adolescence the greater pressures to incorporate and overtly express socially approved role behavior are a contributing factor in males' comparative decline in self-disclosure.

Still others have studied self-disclosure as a function of within-sex differences in the extent of male-role incorporation. In their investigation of the relationship between self-disclosing behavior and masculinity-femininity as a personality trait within the same sex, Pedersen and Higbee(1969) found that masculinity-femininity was not correlated with self-disclosure. The instrument used to measure amount of self-disclosure was the 60-item Jourard Self-Disclosure Questionnaire(JSDQ), a self-report instrument that asks the respondent to indicate the extent to which he has revealed personal information on six content areas--attitudes and opinions, tastes and interests, work (or studies), money, personality, and body--to four target persons: mother, father, best opposite-sex friend, and best same-sex friend. Because the JSDQ asks respondents to indicate extent of past disclosure to various target persons, its predictive validity with regard to actual self-disclosure in a situation has recently been questioned. Burhenne and Mirels (1970) found that rated

disclosure on written self-descriptions correlated .00 with the JSDQ. Cozby (1973) concludes that the evidence makes it clear that the JSDQ does not accurately predict actual self-disclosure. Therefore, although the results of the Pedersen and Higbee (1969) study suggest no within-sex differences in males' self-disclosure, it is suspect due to its use of the JSDQ as a measure of the dependent variable.

A more direct assessment of self-disclosure was employed in a study by Pedersen and Breglio (1968). This study investigated the relationship between actual self-disclosure in a situation and several personality variables, one of which was masculinity-femininity. The instrument developed to measure actual self-disclosure, the Self-Disclosure Questionnaire (SDQ), was based on, and included five of the six content areas covered by the JSDQ. The SDQ required the respondent to describe himself, with reference to the five content areas, as he presently felt himself to be. Each of the five questions was scored for depth-of-disclosure by two independent raters who used the following three-point scale: (1) discloses little or nothing of self, (2) discloses only on a general level (discloses facts but little or no disclosure of a personal nature) and, (3) discloses attitudes and information of a personal nature. Although rating scales of this kind pose certain methodological problems, Pedersen and Breglio's study (1968), by measuring actual self-disclosure, indicated that actual disclosure is not a function of intra-sex differences in sex-role incorporation as measured by masculinity-

femininity scales.

In summary then, the hypothesis that amount of self-disclosure is a function of sex-role incorporation has received mixed support. First, when comparing males and females, studies support the hypothesis that males hide personal information more than do females. On the other hand, the hypothesis that intra-sex differences in amount of self-disclosure is a function of the extent of sex-role incorporation has not been supported. It may be, then, that investigating the possibility that the extent of male-role incorporation affects the degree to which a man more subtly avoids disclosure of personal information would prove more fruitful. In other words, the extent of male-role incorporation may not be reflected in the amount or depth of an individual's self-disclosure, but perhaps is indicated in patterns of speech which suggest dissociation or denial of his experience of tender emotions.

Wiener and Mehrabian (1968) have suggested that analyzing an individual's communications in terms of non-immediacy may reflect the extent of the communicator's separation, or dissociation, from the content of his communication. Although there has been only one published study using the non-immediacy variable to assess self-disclosure (Roth and Kuiken, in press), the data suggest that non-immediacy reflects such a separation of the communicator from the content of his communication.

NON-IMMEDIACY

In recent work (Wiener and Mehrabian, 1968), an attempt

has been made to organize a number of principles a listener can use to make inferences about a speaker's feelings or attitudes toward the event described in his communication. These authors contend that the kinds of words used to describe an event contain information that is complementary, supplementary, or redundant to the information carried in other components in the communication (i.e., tonal, gestural, postural, or other non-verbal components), including the explicit verbal content. That is, what appears to be the same thing (i.e., the same content) said with different words can be a basis for inferring quite different attitudes on the part of the speaker. It is further proposed that these variations in the kinds of words used in a communication indicate different degrees of separation of the speaker from the content of his communication, and these variations can be analyzed in terms of non-immediacy. Moreover, the inferences drawn by these analyses are about the psychological state of a speaker vis-á-vis the object about which he is communicating. That is, the extent to which an individual separates or dissociates himself, as its creator, from the content of his communication, can be assessed through use of the criteria for non-immediacy. The concept of non-immediacy, therefore, seems to have much in common with Roger's (1961) concept of congruency. The congruent individual is communicating from a context of personal perception, i.e., speaking of his perceptions and feelings as belonging to him. The immediate individual is communicating his attitudes and feelings by using words that indicate his

acceptance of the content of his communication as being his own.

The relationship between experience and communication is assumed to be an isomorphic one, i.e., communication is regarded as a second order response, and is the making overt of an experience. It is further assumed that:

> ...these variations [in kinds of words used] reflect some comparable variations in experience. Specifically, these differences in experience we assume to be the differences in the relationship of a speaker to the object of his communication.... We assume these variations in experience to be associated with positive versus negative, affective, evaluative or preferential relationship of a communicator to the object of his communication... (Wiener and Mehrabian, 1968, p. 32).

In other words, the various forms of separation, or non-immediacy, which can occur in a communication are expected to be most frequently associated with negative affect.

Several recent studies have found support for the major assumption of the non-immediacy model, i.e., that negative affect, non-preferential status, or negatively evaluated events are associated with more non-immediacy in verbal communications (Gottlieb, Wiener, and Mehrabian, 1967; Mehrabian, 1966; Mehrabian, 1967; Mehrabian and Wiener, 1966). However, one study (Mehrabian, 1967) found a curvilinear relationship between non-immediacy and degree of negative communicator attitude towards the object of his communication, due to a rise in non-immediacy values of statements written about a person whom the subject reported as liking very much. Although

these results are difficult to interpret from the basic assumptions of the non-immediacy model as proposed by Wiener and Mehrabian (1968), a recent reinterpretation (Roth and Kuiken, in press) of the model's basic hypothesis (i.e., that non-immediacy reflects implicit negative affect) has clarified the unexpected results found in the Mehrabian (1967) study. If one assumes that non-immediacy reflects an individual's implicit reluctance to affirm or acknowledge the explicit content of a communication (i.e., dissociation), then the rise in non-immediacy scores for statements about a person whom the subject reports liking very much can be interpreted as reflecting an individual's reluctance to express either positive or negative affect.

In terms of the present investigation it seems the interpretation offered by Roth and Kuiken (in press) is most pertinent. They found that non-immediacy of self-disclosure did not correlate with either length of subjects' disclosures or their rated liking of the addressee. Further, non-immediacy was not a function of reciprocity effects, as is so prevalent in literature on amount or depth of self-disclosure (Cozby, 1973). These results suggest that principles other than those reported for self-disclosure are needed to explain results found in studies of non-immediacy.

Roth and Kuiken (in press) described limitations of the otherwise prevalent reciprocity effect in self-disclosure. When subjects were presented a positive communication, in either non-immediate or immediate terms, what can be interpreted

as reciprocity of non-immediacy occurred. However, when presented a negative communication, in either non-immediate or immediate terms, reciprocation of non-immediacy did not occur. These results were interpreted in terms of the double-bind theory of communication (Bateson, Jackson, Haley, and Weakland, 1956). One possibility is that, when presented with a communication in which the implicit and explicit messages are contradictory, an individual feels vulnerable, and this vulnerability is manifested in his reluctance to acknowledge or affirm the explicit content of his communication (i.e., through non-immediacy). This possibility can be extended to the situation in which males who have extensively incorporated male-role expectations (high-masculine males) are required to communicate those tender emotions which are inconsistent with their role expectations. It can be assumed, then, that the high-masculine individual would feel vulnerable to ridicule or misunderstanding in such a situation, and this vulnerability would mediate a greater level of non-immediacy in his communications.

HYPOTHESIS I

The first hypothesis is that, the extent to which an individual has incorporated the stereotyped conception of the male-role will be reflected in the non-immediacy of his communications. High-masculine males will feel more vulnerable in communicating their tender emotions and, therefore, will

be more non-immediate in their communications than will low-masculine males.

HYPOTHESIS II

The second hypothesis is that the reciprocity of non-immediacy will occur for low-masculine males, but not for high-masculine males. First, when presented a communication of tender emotions from an other speaking in an immediate manner, high-masculine males will perceive this implicit acceptance of emotions as dissimilar to their role expectations of males. Consequently, they will feel vulnerable to ridicule or misunderstanding from this dissimilar other. Their vulnerability will be manifested in greater non-immediacy than when confronted by a non-immediate other who conforms more closely to their male-role expectations. On the other hand, low-masculine males will perceive a non-immediate other as implicitly denying ownership of his tender emotions and, therefore, as dissimilar to their male-role expectations. Consequently, they will feel more vulnerable, and will be more non-immediate in their communication of tender emotions when in the presence of a non-immediate, as compared to an immediate, other.

METHOD

DESIGN

The hypotheses of the present study were investigated in a 2 x 2 factorial design. The independent variables were the male subjects' masculinity-femininity and the non-immediacy of the confederate's communications. Subjects were asked to disclose personal information on six topics, two of which were baseline measures and four of which were in response to the confederate's communications on the same topics. Subjects' communications were rated for non-immediacy, depth of self-disclosure content, and length. Other dependent measures included post-experimental questionnaire items which indicated subjects' vulnerability, liking for, and impressions of the confederate.

SUBJECTS

Subjects were 40 male university undergraduates enrolled in an introductory psychology course at the University of Alberta. As discussed below, the subjects were chosen on the basis of their scores on an indicator of masculinity-femininity.

MASCULINITY-FEMININITY

The instrument used to measure masculinity-femininity was the Gough Femininity Scale (GFS; see Appendix A). The GFS is a relatively short (58 items), easily scored (True-False) instrument, which contains few obvious items, and which has been shown to be sufficiently reliable to warrant its use as a scale in discriminating males of high- and low-masculinity. Split-half reliabilities calculated for the college sample used to develop the scale were .88 for females and .86 for males. Cross-validating samples of students from college and high school showed that the discriminating power of the test is nearly equivalent to its effectiveness in the original groups (Gough, 1952). In addition, many of the items in the GFS also appear in the Fe scale of the California Personality Inventory, and this instrument has been shown to be reasonably valid.

The GFS was presented to two large introductory psychology classes in September, 1973. From the total number of completed scales the 30% scoring the highest were assigned to the low-masculinity group (Mean=33), and the 30% scoring the lowest were assigned to the high-masculinity group (Mean=22). Subjects were telephoned and asked to participate in a psychology study as partial fulfillment of the requirements for introductory psychology. From each of the high- and low-masculinity groups 10 subjects were randomly assigned to each of the experimental manipulations (i.e., the immediate and non-immediate confederate conditions).

DISCLOSURE TOPICS

The instrument used to choose those topics discussed in this study was designed to determine the extent to which a communicator anticipates feeling vulnerable in disclosing himself on such topics (see Appendix B). That is, respondents were asked to indicate, by rating each of 47 topics on a five-point scale, how vulnerable they would feel if they were to tell another person about themselves on each of the topics. Vulnerability was defined as, "your anticipation of the other person's misunderstanding, or simply not understanding, what you are making known about yourself to him." This questionnaire was administered to a large introductory psychology class. From those topics having the highest vulnerability ratings, four were chosen as those topics that were experimentally manipulated:(a) What it takes to hurt my feelings deeply, (b) The kinds of feelings I have trouble expressing, (c) The ways in which I feel most maladjusted or immature, and (d) What I am most sensitive about. From the topics having the lowest vulnerability ratings, two were selected as baseline topics:(a) The kinds of things that make me furious, and (b) Things about the future that worry me at present.

NON-IMMEDIACY MANIPULATION

The four experimentally manipulated topics were prerecorded by a male confederate and systematically varied in

level of non-immediacy. That is, the immediate confederate communication contained as few categories of non-immediacy as possible. In contrast, in the non-immediate communication the content of the message was the same but it contained as many non-immediacy indicators as possible (see Appendix C). For example, in the immediate condition of the topic, "What it takes to hurt my feelings deeply," the confederate said, "I'm hurt if I tell my friend about an experience that is meaningful to me, and he doesn't understand what I'm saying." In contrast, in the non-immediate condition, the communication was, "Sometimes I get kind of hurt when I try to tell somebody about some experience that I think meant a lot to me, but they make me feel like they don't understand what I'm trying to tell them."

PROCEDURE

After being introduced to each other by the experimenter, the subject and confederate were told that the experimenter was interested in one person's impressions of another under conditions in which one person has more information about the other than the other has about him. The experimenter explained that one of them was randomly chosen to reveal more information than the other (actually, the subject was always told he had been chosen). This explanation gave some rationale for asking the subject to disclose on the first two topics on which the confederate did not disclose (these were used as

the baseline measure). The subject and confederate were then given a list of the six topics which they were to discuss (see Appendix D). The experimenter explained that the subject and confederate would be in separate cubicles during their discussion of the topics, and that they would be communicating through a microphone and loudspeaker system located in each cubicle. The explanation for this procedure was that non-verbal channels of communication in a face-to-face situation might well have confounding effects on the variable of interest. The experimenter explained the procedure for discussing the topics when the subject and confederate were seated in their cubicles. That is, the subject would speak on the first and second topics before the confederate spoke. The confederate was then instructed to speak first on the third topic, followed by the subject speaking on the same topic. This alternating procedure would continue, with the confederate speaking on the topic first, until all six topics had been discussed. The subject and confederate were instructed to speak only when it was their turn, not to ask any questions of the other person, to say as much as they desired on each topic, and to indicate when they has said all they cared to on a topic by saying, "That's all." The experimenter then asked if there were any questions about the procedure, and if either the subject or confederate objected to having their disclosures tape-recorded (both the tape-recorder containing the confederate's pre-recorded communications and the one used to tape-record the

subjects' communications were located in the confederate's cubicle and were operated by him).

Following these introductory instructions, the subject and confederate were led to their respective cubicles. The procedure for discussing the topics, as outlined above, was followed for all six topics. When it was the confederate's turn to speak on a topic he played his pre-recorded communication.

Following the subject's disclosure on the final topic, the experimenter asked the subject to complete a questionnaire he had prepared. The subject and confederate were asked to indicate when they had finished the questionnaire by opening their doors. When the subject so indicated, the experimenter went into the subject's cubicle, told him the microphone had been turned off, and began debriefing the subject.

DEPENDENT MEASURES

Non-Immediacy

The criteria used to score subjects' communications for non-immediacy was a slight modification of those used by Wiener and Mehrabian (1968; see Appendix E). All subjects' communications were transcribed from tape. The unit of scoring was the average number of non-immediacy indicators per word. Each subject received six scores, i.e., one for each of the six topics. The non-immediacy scores on the first two topics were averaged for each of the subjects, and this average was

used as a baseline measure of non-immediacy. Each of the non-immediacy scores on the four experimentally manipulated topics was subtracted from the baseline score to yield a change of non-immediacy score. Thus, the final scores used in the data analysis reflected the amount of change in non-immediacy in response to the experimental manipulation.

All communications were scored for non-immediacy by the present investigator, who was blind to conditions. Interjudge agreement with a rater who has extensive experience with the non-immediacy criteria was .80 (n=12). This corresponds favorably with those obtained by Wiener and Mehrabian (1968).

Depth of Self-Disclosure

The depth (or, intimacy) of subjects' communications was measured using the Depth of Disclosure Scale of the Self-Disclosure Rating Manual (SDRM) developed by Davis and Sloan (in press; see Appendix F). The original authors of the SDRM computed inter-rater reliabilities of .80 (n=12), which is comparable to that of .74 computed by the present investigator on the basis of ratings made by two judges who independently rated a sample of the subjects' communications.

Each of the subjects' six communications was rated for depth of disclosure on a five-point scale; from a score of one, which indicated the subject had made no disclosure at all, or that the information he provided about himself revealed practically nothing that was in any way personal about him, to a score of five, which indicated the subject had made

a full disclosure about himself appropriate to the context of discussion.

Length of Communication

The number of words the subject used in each of his communications was assessed, excluding from the count an initial restatement of the topic, as well as "umm's" or "ah's", which indicated pauses.

Post-Experimental Questionnaire

Immediately following his communication on the last topic, each subject was asked to complete a short questionnaire (see Appendix G). The purpose of the questionnaire was to determine how vulnerable the subject felt with the confederate, how much he liked the confederate, and how comfortable he was with him. The questionnaire was composed, roughly, of three parts: (1) ten, bi-polar adjectives that represented personality characteristics of the other person (e.g., warm--cold, anxious--calm, distant--intimate), on which the subject indicated his evaluation of the confederate; (2) the same ten, bi-polar adjectives on which the subject indicated his evaluation of himself; and, (3) 12 questions that represented various aspects of the relationship between the subject and confederate. The subject indicated on a seven-point, bi-polar scale how vulnerable and how comfortable he felt, and how much he liked the confederate.

RESULTS

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Although the non-immediacy data were, initially, to be analyzed in terms of the subjects' change scores (i.e., the change in non-immediacy from the baseline score to the non-immediacy score of each of the four manipulated topics), it was decided that an analysis of the subjects' raw score data (i.e., the average non-immediacy score for each of the four manipulated topics) would be more appropriate. This decision was justified by the finding that the baseline score was correlated with each of the four change scores. The correlations were all positive, with two of the four reaching significance beyond the .02 level ($r=.24$; $r=.53$; $r=.64$; $r=.33$). These correlations indicated that, generally, the higher the level of non-immediacy on the baseline topics, the less the change toward non-immediacy of communication on the four manipulated topics. The result of these relationships is that the error term for the four manipulated topics is smaller than the error term for the baseline topics. Therefore, the analysis of variance of the raw score data for the four manipulated topics is more sensitive to differences between the groups than the analysis of variance of the change score data, and was used in the present study.

HYPOTHESIS I

The first assumption of the present investigation was that high-masculine males would feel more vulnerable, generally, than would low-masculine males in disclosing their tender emotions. The prediction based on this assumption was that high-masculine males' greater vulnerability would be manifested in a greater level of non-immediacy of their communications, as compared to those of low-masculine males. Neither the underlying assumption nor the prediction was supported by the data.

To assess subjects' felt vulnerability, they were asked to rate how closely the confederate listened to them, how confident they were that the other would not talk about what they had said, how acceptable their communications were to the other, and how confident they were that the other would not ridicule them. There were no significant differences between high- and low-masculine males on these questions (see Table 1). Further, analysis of the non-immediacy scores did not support the prediction that high-masculine males' communications would be more non-immediate than those of low-masculine males (see Table 2).

HYPOTHESIS II

The second underlying assumption was that high-masculine males would experience more vulnerability when confronted with an other who was disclosing his tender emotions in an immediate

rather than a non-immediate manner. In contrast, low-masculine males would feel more vulnerable with the non-immediate than with the immediate confederate. The prediction based on this assumption was that high-masculine males' communications would be more non-immediate with an immediate confederate than with a non-immediate confederate. Further, low-masculine males' communications would be more non-immediate when in the presence of a non-immediate confederate than when in the presence of an immediate confederate. Again, neither the assumption nor the prediction was supported by the data.

An analysis of the subjects' rated vulnerability revealed no significant differences between high- and low-masculine males' confidence that the confederate would not talk about what they had said, or how acceptable their communications were to the other. However, the interaction between confederate non-immediacy and subjects' masculinity-femininity indicated that high-masculine males felt that the immediate confederate listened more closely to them, in contrast to low-masculine males who felt that the non-immediate confederate listened more closely to them ($F=9.41$, $df=1/36$, $p<.01$; see Table 1 and Appendix H). In addition, high-masculine males were more confident that the immediate confederate would not ridicule them for what they had said, in contrast to low-masculine males who were more confident that the non-immediate confederate would not ridicule them ($F=5.25$, $df=1/36$, $p<.05$; see Table 1 and Appendix I). These results are the inverse of those expected. Further, analysis of the non-immediacy data

did not support the prediction based on this assumption. Contrary to expectations, both high- and low-masculine males' communications were more immediate with the immediate confederate than with the non-immediate confederate ($F=5.72$, $df=1/36$, $p<.05$; see Table 2 and Appendix J).

RELATED ANALYSES

In light of these results, the assumption that vulnerability mediates non-immediacy was unwarranted. In addition, and consistent with Roth and Kuiken (in press), there were no differences in subjects' rated liking for the confederate, indicating that this variable, as well, did not mediate reciprocity of non-immediacy (see Table 3).

Further, analysis of the depth of disclosure scores indicates that vulnerability does not mediate depth of self-disclosure either. In fact, no differences were found in depth of self-disclosure as a function of masculinity-femininity or of non-immediacy of confederate (see Table 4).

DISCUSSION

The underlying assumption of the present investigation was that, to effectively fulfill the male role in North American society, men should be pragmatic, unsentimental and assertive, and that they should not be tender, sensitive and needful of others. This conception of the male role has been labeled "stereotyped toughness", or "pseudomasculinity" (Constantinople, 1973). Further, it was assumed that the greater the degree of a male's incorporation of this stereotyped conception of the male role, the more vulnerable he would feel to ridicule and misunderstanding in communicating those tender emotions which are inconsistent with his role expectations. In addition, this vulnerability would mediate the level of non-immediacy of his communications of such tender emotions.

The hypotheses based on these assumptions were, first, that high-masculine males' communications of their tender emotions would be more non-immediate as compared to the communications of low-masculine males. Second, high-masculine males' communications would be more non-immediate when presented a communication from an other speaking in an immediate manner than when presented a communication from a non-immediate other. In contrast, low-masculine males' communications would be more non-immediate when presented a non-immediate communication than when presented an immediate communication.

However, the results clearly failed to confirm these hypotheses.

One possibility suggested by these contrary findings is that the stereotyped conception of the male role, assumed in this study to be generally accepted as appropriate in North American society, is inaccurate. That is, perhaps this stereotyped conception is exactly that, a stereotype. The results of this study revealed no indications that high-masculine males felt more vulnerable in disclosing their tender emotions to another person than did low-masculine males. As a matter of fact, low-masculine males reported feeling more anxious than did high-masculine males ($F=8.42$, $df=1/36$, $p<.01$; see Table 5 and Appendix K), and they felt more vulnerable when addressed by an immediate rather than a non-immediate other (see Table 1 and Appendices H and I). In addition, low-masculine males were more negative in their overall evaluation of the confederate than were high-masculine males ($F=4.35$, $df=1/36$, $p<.05$; see Table 6 and Appendix L), perhaps indicating suspicion or distrust. These results are clearly a reversal of the expectations based on the stereotypically conceived notion of the male role.

On the other hand, there is the possibility that the instrument used in this study to measure masculinity-femininity (i.e., the Gough Femininity Scale) is faulty. The assumption implicit in the construction of the GFS (as in most masculinity-femininity measures) is that masculinity-femininity is a unidimensional trait which can be accurately represented by

a single overall score. However, data reviewed by Constantinople (1973) suggests that masculinity-femininity is a multidimensional trait, and that an instrument that employs separately scored homogeneous subscales would be more appropriate in its measurement. Viewed in the light of Constantinople's (1973) suggestion, it may be that the GFS does not tap that aspect of the male role characterized as "stereotyped toughness" or "pseudomasculinity" (i.e., compensatory defensiveness). The present data suggests, however, that the GFS taps an aspect of masculinity-femininity characterized by non-defensiveness. That is, perhaps the high-masculine males employed in the present study were characterized as being self-confident, assertive and non-defensive, whereas the low-masculine males were characterized as being low in self-confidence, apprehensive and defensive. When the population of males employed in this study is viewed in this light, the finding that vulnerability was manifested under conditions contrary to those expected becomes more readily interpretable. That is, high-masculine males, characterized by self-confidence in their ability to behave appropriately as men, and by their assertiveness and non-defensiveness in talking about their tender emotions, feel more comfortable speaking with someone who is himself direct and non-defensive. On the other hand, they feel more uncomfortable when speaking with someone who is speaking indirectly. In contrast, low-masculine males, characterized as being low in self-confidence in their ability to behave appropriately as men, and by their apprehensiveness and defensiveness, feel

comfortable with someone who is speaking indirectly, and feel uncomfortable with someone who is speaking directly and non-defensively.

However, the present discussion does not explain why both high- and low-masculine males reciprocate the level of non-immediacy of the confederate. Perhaps, under the conditions investigated in the present study, vulnerability does not mediate non-immediacy. That is, males employed in this study, both high- and low-masculine, were asked to do something that was congruent with their perceptions of themselves and, therefore, vulnerability was not manifested in the level of non-immediacy of their communications. Perhaps if the present study had employed high-masculine males characterized by compensatory defensiveness (i.e., "pseudomasculinity"), and low-masculine males characterized by sensitivity and non-defensiveness, and asked them to do some task considered counter to their role expectations (i.e., ask high-masculine males to talk on topics similar to those in the present study, and ask low-masculine males to do something "masculine"), vulnerability would have been manifested in non-immediacy. That is, the results might have been as predicted.

To this end, future investigators may find it fruitful to employ an instrument that treats masculinity-femininity as a multidimensional, rather than as a unidimensional, trait. For example, the Sex Role Inventory developed by Bem (1974) would, perhaps, more accurately tap those characteristics of importance in differentiating pseudomasculinity from non-defensive male-role incorporation. The instrument was designed

to yield separate scores for masculinity, femininity, as well as for androgyny. The masculinity and femininity scores indicate the extent to which a person endorses masculine and feminine personality traits as self-descriptive. Most importantly, the androgyny score represents the extent to which the person endorses both masculine and feminine personality traits.

Pseudomasculinity, or one-sided incorporation of the male role may be reflected in endorsement of masculine traits and denial of feminine traits, whereas non-defensive male-role incorporation may be reflected in endorsement of both masculine and feminine personality traits. Instrumentation such as this may allow more direct assessment of the hypotheses of this study.

TABLES

TABLE 1

Subjects' Self-Rated Vulnerability as a Function of Masculinity-Femininity and Immediacy-Non-immediacy

How closely the confederate listened*

Confederate	High-masc.	Low-masc.	Means
Immediate	2.2	3.1	2.6
Non-immediate	3.6	2.7	3.2
Means=	2.9	2.9	2.9

*Scores indicate means (n=10 per cell) of a bi-polar, seven-point rating scale. Lower numbers indicate confederate listened more closely.

Note: The interaction was significant beyond the .01 level.

How confident that confederate would not talk*

Confederate	High-masc.	Low-masc.	Means
Immediate	1.5	2.7	2.1
Non-immediate	1.9	2.4	2.2
Means=	1.7	2.6	2.2

*Lower numbers indicate greater confidence.

Note: The differences were not significant.

TABLE 1 (continued)

How acceptable communications were to confederate*

Confederate	High-masc.	Low-masc.	Means
Immediate	5.4	4.7	5.0
Non-immediate	4.8	5.4	5.1
Means=	5.1	5.0	5.0

*Higher numbers indicate greater acceptability.

Note: The differences were not significant.

How confident that confederate would not ridicule*

Confederate	High-masc.	Low-masc.	Means
Immediate	6.7	5.7	6.2
Non-immediate	6.1	6.5	6.3
Means=	6.4	6.1	6.2

*Higher numbers indicate greater confidence.

Note: The interaction was significant beyond the .05 level.

TABLE 2

Average Non-immediacy Scores* on Four Test Topics as a Function of Masculinity-Femininity and Immediacy-Non-immediacy

Confederate	High-masc.	Low-masc.	Means
Immediate	.309	.302	.305
Non-immediate	.338	.338	.338
Means=	.324	.324	.322

*High numbers indicate greater non-immediacy.

Note: The main effect for masculinity-femininity was not significant. The main effect for confederate non-immediacy was significant beyond the .05 level.

TABLE 3

Subjects' Rated Liking for Confederate as a Function of Masculinity-Femininity and Immediacy-Non-immediacy

How much subject liked confederate*

Confederate	High-masc.	Low-masc.	Means
Immediate	5.1	5.8	5.4
Non-immediate	5.2	5.3	5.2
Means=	5.2	5.6	5.3

*Higher numbers indicate greater liking.

Note: The differences were not significant.

How subjects felt about having confederate as friend*

Confederate	High-masc.	Low-masc.	Means
Immediate	5.7	5.5	5.6
Non-immediate	5.2	5.5	5.4
Means=	5.4	5.5	5.5

*Higher numbers indicate more desire for having confederate as friend.

Note: The differences were not significant.

TABLE 4

Average Depth of Disclosure Scores* on Four Test Topics as a Function of Masculinity-Femininity and Immediacy-Non-immediacy

Confederate	High-masc.	Low-masc.	Means
Immediate	2.28	2.65	2.46
Non-immediate	2.50	2.38	2.44
Means=	2.39	2.52	2.45

*Higher scores indicate greater depth of disclosure.

Note: The differences were not significant.

TABLE 5

Subjects' Self-Rated Anxiety* as a Function of Masculinity-Femininity and Immediacy-Non-immediacy

Confederate	High-masc.	Low-masc.	Means
Immediate	4.1	5.1	4.6
Non-immediate	3.5	5.2	4.4
Means=	3.8	5.2	4.5

*Higher numbers indicate greater anxiety.

Note: The main effect for masculinity-femininity was significant beyond the .01 level.

TABLE 6

Subjects' Overall Evaluation of Confederate* as a Function of Masculinity-Femininity and Immediacy-Non-immediacy

Confederate	High-masc.	Low-masc.	Means
Immediate	25.0	28.3	26.6
Non-immediate	24.2	27.3	25.8
Means=	24.6	27.8	26.2

*Lower numbers indicate more positive evaluation.

Note: The main effect for masculinity-femininity was significant beyond the .05 level.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Gough Femininity Scale

There follow a number of statements that may or may not characterize your attitudes or interests regarding specific topics.

If, after reading each item, you believe it to characterize the way you behave or feel under most circumstances, mark the item "True" by placing a check mark within the parentheses below the "T".

If you feel the item does not characterize the way in which you behave or feel under most circumstances, mark the item "False" by placing a check mark within the parentheses under the "F".

Please answer all the items. Do not leave any blank item.

	T	F
1. I want to be an important person in the community.	( )	( )
2. I'm not the type to be a political leader.	( )	( )
3. When someone talks against certain groups or nationalities, I always speak up against such talk even though it makes me unpopular.	( )	( )
4. I like mechanics magazines.	( )	( )
5. I think I would like the work of a librarian.	( )	( )
6. I'm pretty sure I know how we can settle the international problems we face today.	( )	( )
7. I would never feel right if I thought I wasn't doing my share of the hard work of any group I belonged to.	( )	( )
8. People seem naturally to turn to me when decisions have to be made.	( )	( )
9. I must admit I feel sort of scared when I move to a strange place.	( )	( )
10. I like to go to parties and other affairs where there is lots of loud fun.	( )	( )
11. If I were a reporter I would like very much to report news of the theater.	( )	( )
12. I would like to be a nurse.	( )	( )
13. It is hard for me to "bawl out" someone who is not doing his job properly.	( )	( )
14. If I get too much change in a store I always give it back.	( )	( )
15. I very much like hunting.	( )	( )
16. Some of my family have habits that bother and annoy me very much.	( )	( )
17. I would like to be a soldier.	( )	( )
18. I think I could do better than most of the present politicians if I were in office.	( )	( )

	T	F
19. I like to be with a crowd who play jokes on one another.	( )	( )
20. It is hard for me to start a conversation with strangers.	( )	( )
21. I often get feelings like crawling, burning, tingling, or "going to sleep" in different parts of my body.	( )	( )
22. I hate to have to rush when I'm working.	( )	( )
23. In school I was sometimes sent to the principle for cutting up.	( )	( )
24. I think I would like the work of a building contractor.	( )	( )
25. When I work at something I like to read and study about it.	( )	( )
26. I think that I am stricter about right and wrong than most people.	( )	( )
27. I am somewhat afraid of the dark.	( )	( )
28. I am very slow in making up my mind.	( )	( )
29. I am hardly ever bothered by a skin condition, such as athlete's foot, rash, etc.	( )	( )
30. I like to boast about my achievements every now and then.	( )	( )
31. Sometimes I cross the street just to avoid meeting someone.	( )	( )
32. I would do almost anything on a dare.	( )	( )
33. I think I would like to drive a racing car.	( )	( )
34. I must admit that I enjoy playing practical jokes on people.	( )	( )
35. I always tried to make the best school grades that I could.	( )	( )
36. I am inclined to take things hard.	( )	( )

	T	F
37. At times I feel like picking a fist fight with someone.	( )	( )
38. I am apt to hide my feelings in some things, to the point that people may hurt me without their knowing about it.	( )	( )
39. Sometimes I have the same dream over and over.	( )	( )
40. The thought of being in an automobile accident is very frightening to me.	( )	( )
41. The average person is not able to appreciate art and music very well.	( )	( )
42. I prefer a shower to a tub bath.	( )	( )
43. I am often a little uneasy about handling knives and other sharp-bladed instruments.	( )	( )
44. Sometimes I feel that I am about to go to pieces.	( )	( )
45. I like adventure stories better than romantic stories.	( )	( )
46. I like to be in many social activities.	( )	( )
47. I was hardly ever spanked or whipped as a child.	( )	( )
48. I think I would like the work of a garage mechanic.	( )	( )
49. A windstorm terrifies me.	( )	( )
50. I get excited very easily.	( )	( )
51. I become quite irritated when I see someone spit on the sidewalk.	( )	( )
52. I think I would like the work of a dress designer.	( )	( )
53. I have a certain talent for understanding the other person, and for sympathizing with his problems.	( )	( )

	T	F
54. It makes me very nervous when I get blamed for making a mistake.	( )	( )
55. I often get disgusted with myself.	( )	( )
56. I always like to keep my things neat and tidy and in good order.	( )	( )
57. I think I would like the work of a clerk in a large department store.	( )	( )
58. I get very tense and anxious when I think other people are disapproving of me.	( )	( )

APPENDIX B

Vulnerability Scale

There follow a number of sentences representing various topic areas on which you could reveal personal information about yourself. For each item you are to indicate the extent to which you would feel "vulnerable" were you to tell another person, in as complete and honest a way as possible, about yourself with regard to the specific topic area. "Vulnerability" should be taken to mean your anticipation of the other person's misunderstanding, or simply not understanding, what you are making known about yourself to him. This, "being unable to understand you," could take a number of forms, for example, receiving abuse or ridicule from the other; by the other's "changing the subject"; by his leaving the room; or by the other's lack of any response to your information about yourself.

In making your ratings of "vulnerability", assume that you would be discussing each item with a same-sex acquaintance, that is, with someone you see occasionally and with whom you have talked relatively little about yourself. In other words, rate each item according to how "safe", or how "vulnerable", you would feel if you were to make yourself known, on that item, to a same-sex acquaintance.

In making your ratings of "vulnerability", employ a five-point scale, with 1 (one) corresponding to "safe" (no vulnerability), and 5 corresponding to "high vulnerability". Record your ratings on the separate sheet provided.

Please take time at this point to reread these instructions, as the success of this study depends on your understanding of what is meant by the terms, "vulnerability", and "same-sex acquaintance".

1. The aspects of your personality that you dislike, worry about, that you regard as a handicap to you.

2. The feelings that you have trouble expressing.

3. The facts of your present sex life--including knowledge of how you get sexual gratification; any problems that you might have, with whom you have relations, if anybody.

4. Things in the past or present that you feel ashamed and guilty about.

5. The kinds of things that make you furious.

6. What it takes to get you feeling real depressed and blue.

7. What it takes to get you worried, anxious, and afraid.

8. What it takes to hurt your feelings deeply.

9. The kinds of things that make you especially proud of yourself, elated, full of self-esteem or self-respect.

10. The things that particularly annoy you most about your closest friend of the same sex.

11. Things about the future that worry you at present.

12. What you are most sensitive about.

13. The kind of behavior in others that most annoys you, or makes you furious.

14. The characteristics of your father that you do not like, or did not like.

15. The characteristics of your mother that you do not like, or did not like.

16. The biggest disappointment that you have had in your life.

17. Whether or not you have been seriously in love during your life before this year; if so, with whom, what the details were, and the outcome.

18. The names of the people in your life whose care and happiness you feel in some way directly responsible for.

19. The personal deficiencies that you would most like to improve, or that you are struggling to do something about at present, e.g., appearance, lack of knowledge, loneliness, temper, etc.

20. The kinds of thoughts you have had that repulse you.

21. How you feel about your love life.

22. How you feel about having members of the opposite sex touch you.

23. How you feel about having members of the same sex touch you.

24. Disappointments that you have experienced with the opposite sex.

25. Disappointments that you have experienced with the same sex.

26. Your usual ways of dealing with depression, anxiety, and anger.

27. The ways in which you feel you are most maladjusted or immature.

28. The sources of strain and dissatisfaction in your relationships with the opposite sex.

29. The sources of strain and dissatisfaction in your relationships with the same sex.

30. The occasions in your life in which you were the happiest.

31. The occasions in your life in which you were the unhappiest.

32. The main unfulfilled wishes and dreams, and failures in your life.

33. The best friendship you ever had.

34. The times that you have felt lonely.

35. The things you daydream about.

36. Your personal views on sexual morality--how you feel that you and others ought to behave in sexual matters.

37. Your personal standards of beauty and attractiveness in women--what you consider to be attractive in a woman.

38. Your likes and dislikes in music.

39. What you would appreciate most for a present.

40. What you feel are your special strong points and qualifications for your work.

41. How you really feel about the people that you work for, or work with.

42. Your personal religious views.

43. The aspects of your body that you are most satisfied or dissatisfied with.

44. What you regard as the mistakes and failures your parents made in raising you.

45. Your opinions about how capable and smart you are compared to others around you.

46. How you feel that your work is appreciated by others, e.g., boss, fellow workers, teacher.

47. The things you regard as desirable for a man to be--the actions, appearance, general modes of behavior that you regard as appropriate to males.

APPENDIX C

Confederate's Communications

IMMEDIATE

What it takes to hurt my feelings deeply

I'm hurt if I tell my friend about an experience that's meaningful to me, and he doesn't understand what I'm saying. Like, when Ken and I are together, and I tell him about a book or a person that's special, and he changes the subject, or looks in another direction, then I know he doesn't understand and he doesn't want to share these feelings with me. So, I want to share my experiences with my friend, and I'm hurt if he doesn't care.

Uh, also, I'm hurt if a close friend takes advantage of me. Like, if a friend asks a favor, I feel uncomfortable about saying, "no". Uh, like, for example, if you were to ask a favor of me right now, I wouldn't want to say, "no", and I'll feel bad if you take advantage of this. Um, I don't like to be taken advantage of.

Uh, what else hurts my feelings? Oh, yea...if my friends don't respond to my needs and feelings I'm hurt. Like, if I'm lonely or depressed and want to be with a friend, but he's busy or wants to be with someone else, I feel unwanted and hurt. Like, I want my friends to be sensitive to my feelings. Um, I'm finished.

NON-IMMEDIATE

What it takes to hurt my feelings deeply

Sometimes, I get kind of hurt when I try to tell somebody about some experience that I think meant a lot to me, but they make me feel like they don't understand what I'm trying to tell them. Like, when you've been with someone, and maybe you've told them about some book or some person that's been sort of special to you, and maybe they've changed the subject or kind of looked in another direction or something like that, it might make you feel like that person didn't understand you and didn't want to share those kinds of feelings with you. So, I guess, sometimes I might want to share my experiences with somebody, and I get kind of hurt when they don't care.

Uh, also I get pretty hurt when a person tries to take advantage of me. Like, when somebody might ask a favor, you could feel pretty uncomfortable about telling them, "no". Uh, like, for example, if maybe someone were to ask a favor of me right now, I might not want to tell them, "no", and I might feel pretty bad if someone were to take advantage of that. Nobody likes to be taken advantage of.

Uh, what else hurts your feelings. Oh, yea...when friends don't respond to somebody's needs and feelings you could get pretty hurt. Like, when you've been lonely or depressed or wanted to be with somebody, but maybe that person was too busy or they wanted to be with someone else, you could feel

pretty unwanted and hurt. Like, it can be pretty important for friends to be sensitive to your feelings. Um, I guess that's about it.

IMMEDIATE

The feelings that I have trouble expressing

I have trouble telling my best friends how much I appreciate them. Like, if Ken and I are together, having a good time doing something, I want to tell him that I like being with him and that I like him. But, I'm unable to, you know, find the words to express these feelings. Like, if I care about Ken, and I'm unable to tell him how I feel, I feel sad.

If I'm feeling touched by something, I have difficulty expressing my feelings. Like, the way I feel if I see my mother cry, or the way I feel when I see a beautiful sunset, but I haye trouble describing these feelings. If my friend tells me about his personal experiences that mean a lot to him, I have trouble letting him know that I understand. Or, like even now talking to you, I'm finding it hard to express my feelings, even though I want to.

Um, let's see...telling my friend that I'm disappointed if we don't talk more about our feelings is hard for me. Like, Ken and I easily talk about the good times we have, or the things we do together, or the places we go, but we don't talk about our feelings of, well, loneliness or anything we feel sensitive about. Uh, I'm sad if I want to tell Ken how I'm feeling, but I don't tell him. Ok, I'm finished.

NON-IMMEDIATE

The feelings that I have trouble expressing

I've had a little trouble telling my best friends how much I appreciate them. Like, sometimes when you've been with a friend, having a pretty good time doing something, you really want to tell him that you liked being with him and that you kind of like him. But, you just couldn't find the words to express those kinds of feelings. I guess when you care a lot about somebody and you couldn't say how you feel, it could make you feel pretty sad.

I think that a lot of times when you feel really touched by something, it's hard to express those feelings. Like, the way somebody might have felt when he saw his mother cry, or the way you might have felt when you saw a beautiful sunset, but you might have trouble putting those feelings into words. Sometimes when a friend has told you something that meant a lot to him, it could be hard to let him know that you understand. Or, like even now, you could find it hard to express your feelings, even though you wanted to.

Um, let's see...sometimes telling a friend that you've been disappointed 'cause you haven't talked more about your feelings is kind of hard. Like, a lot of people might talk about the good times they've had or the things they've done or the places they've gone, but they might not talk about those feelings like, you know, loneliness or anything that

they might feel sensitive about. Sometimes it makes you sad when you want to tell somebody about how you might be feeling, but you just can't quite seem to tell him. That's about it.

IMMEDIATE

The ways in which I feel most maladjusted or immature

Well, I feel immature if I'm jealous. You know, I dislike thinking of myself this way, because I feel foolish when I'm jealous. Like, if I'm possessive of my girlfriend and she knows it, she's afraid to tell me about herself, because she thinks that I'll become jealous. So, when I'm possessive I'm unable to be close to her.

Also, I don't like to make decisions when I know either choice isn't good. If I'm feeling uncertain, I want someone else to help me decide. Like, I don't want to accept the consequences of my choices alone. If I'm feeling unsure of myself, I need my friends' support.

You know, my image of myself is one of strength and independence, so I'm feeling uncomfortable now telling you my weak points, especially since I don't know you well. Ok, I'm finished.

NON-IMMEDIATE

The ways in which I feel most maladjusted or immature

Well, sometimes I've felt sort of immature when I've found myself being a little jealous. You know, you don't like to think of yourself that way, because you could feel pretty foolish when something makes you jealous. It's like, when you feel possessive of a person, and she knows that, it could make her a little afraid to talk about herself because she might think that it would make you sort of jealous. So, when you're possessive you can't be really close to someone.

Also, sometimes I haven't liked making decisions, especially when either choice isn't that great. When you're feeling kind of uncertain you might want someone else to help you decide. It's like, maybe you wouldn't want to accept the consequences of your choices by yourself. When you're feeling kind of unsure of yourself you might need somebody else's support.

You know, for a guy who's image of himself is that of being pretty strong and independent, I was really uncomfortable telling someone about some of the points people might think were kind of weak, especially when you don't know the other guy very well. That's about it.

IMMEDIATE

What I am most sensitive about

Let's see...I care about the way my friends feel about me. Like, I want the people I care for to like me the way I am. I want them to like the things I do. It's important to me that my friends like me and approve of me. So, I'm sensitive, maybe too sensitive, to the way they see me.

Uh, sensitive...also, when the people I love criticize me, I feel bad. When my close friends criticize me, especially if they imply that I'm insensitive to them, I get defensive and close them off. You know, I'm feeling uncomfortable again talking about things that make me seem dependent on others' approval.

I'm also sensitive if my friends ridicule me about the way I look. Like, I want girls to think of me as good-looking, so I feel bad if my friends bug me about being skinny! I'm finished.

NON-IMMEDIATE

What I am most sensitive about

Let's see...Sometimes I care about the way my friends might feel about me. Like, you sort of want those people you care for to like you, the way you are. You want them to like the things you might have done. It's pretty important that other people like you and maybe approve of you. So, I guess I might be a little sensitive, maybe even too sensitive, to the way some others see me.

Uh, sensitive...also, when you're criticized by those people you really love, it can make you feel pretty bad. When people criticize you, especially if they sort of imply that you are insensitive to others, it could make you feel pretty defensive and closed off. You know, you can feel pretty uncomfortable talking about things that make you seem so dependent on others' approval.

I guess I also find myself a little sensitive when someone might ridicule me about the way I look. Like, it's pretty important for girls to think of you as good-looking, so it can be pretty bad when people bug you about being skinny or something. That's about it.

APPENDIX D

Topic List

TOPIC LIST

Person A will begin by talking about Topic #1. When Person A is finished, he will move on to talk about Topic #2 as well before Person B begins to talk.

Person A will now talk about the first topic.

TOPIC #1: "The kinds of things that make me furious."

-After you are finished, Person A, move on to Topic #2.

TOPIC #2: "Things about the future that worry me at present."

-Indicate when you are finished, e.g., "That's all."
-Now Person B will talk about Topic #3.

TOPIC #3: "What it takes to hurt my feelings deeply."

-Indicate when you are finished.
-"A" will now talk on the same topic, that is, Topic #3.
-Indicate when you are finished.
-Now "B" will talk on Topic #4.

TOPIC #4: "The kinds of feelings I have trouble expressing."

-Indicate when you are finished.
-"A" will now talk on the same topic, that is, Topic #4.
-Indicate when you are finished.
-Now "B" will talk on Topic #5.

TOPIC #5: "The ways in which I feel most maladjusted or immature."

-Indicate when you are finished.
-"A" will now talk on the same topic, that is, Topic#5.
-Now "B" will talk on Topic #6.

TOPIC #6: "What I am most sensitive about."

-Indicate when you are finished.
-"A" will now talk on the same topic, that is Topic #6.
-Open the door and wait for further instructions.

APPENDIX E

Non-Immediacy Criteria

NON-IMMEDIACY CATEGORIES

Non-immediacy may be regarded as implicit reluctance to affirm the explicit content of communication. There are four basic classes of non-immediacy: 1) Agent/object ambiguation: implicit reluctance to affirm the agent or object of the communication is indicated by language forms which blur self-other or other-other distinctions; 2) Spatio-temporal distantiation: implicit reluctance to affirm a communication's temporally and spatially present import is indicated by language forms which alter the spatial and temporal orientation; 3) Agent-action passivity: implicit reluctance to affirm the explicit agent as origin of his action is indicated in language forms that suggest passivity; and 4) Qualification: implicit reluctance to affirm the intensity of the agent-action or agent-attribute relationship is indicated by various modifiers.

I. Agent-object ambiguation categories

A. Part Category (P): The score "P" is assigned if, in the communication, the symbol used for designating the agent or object refers to a part, characteristic, or attribute of the consensual (assumed) agent or object. Only when the part symbol may be replaced by a symbol for the consensual or assumed whole agent or object without change in meaning is this category used. E.g.,

My hand (I) touched his shoulder.	P
My dominant feeling was insecurity.	P
Your mood is changing.	P
Your memory failed you.	P

Also, when the statement is in the form of a negation, but an affirmative form could be used without loss of meaning, the score of "P" is given. In such instances of negation, the communicator is changing from one characteristic to another. For example, given the question, "Is she good-looking?", the answer, "She is not bad-looking" is scored P. A response, "She is not good looking" or "She is ugly" would not be scored for negation. E.g.,

Her figure is not bad. P

B. Class Category (C): The score of "C" is assigned if the symbol used to designate the agent or object refers to a class of persons which includes the agent or object. Only when the class symbol may be replaced by a symbol for the assumed or consensual agent or object without change in meaning is this category used. This frequently requires a judgment that the assumed referent is the agent or object by examination of the communication context. E.g.,

Faces (my face) need not be perfect. C

Psychologists (psychologist X) treat people like computers. C

The score of "C" is also given when the symbol used to designate the agent or object is over-inclusive when the context suggests that a more specific agent or object is being referred to. Typical over-inclusive pronouns are: "you" (generalized), "we", "people", "somebody", etc. This score is used only when the over-inclusive term may be replaced by a symbol for the more specific agent or object without

contradicting the context. E.g.,

You are (I am) usually quiet when you are (I am) unhappy.	C,C
People (you) should control their (your) feelings.	C

Note: In the second example, "C" is scored once although two over-inclusive pronouns are in the statement. When one over-inclusive pronoun (e.g., people) refers to a preceding over-inclusive pronoun in the same sentence, "C" is scored only once.

C. Externalization Category (E): The score of "E" is designated when reference to the agent or object (or aspects of the same) is phrased such that his actions or characteristics are external to him. For example, unclear subject-object differentiation is indicated when subjective states are externalized. The use of the deictic pronouns "it" or "there" (when they have no detectable referents) to refer to an agent's or object's state or actions is one way externalization occurs. E.g.,

"It is funny to see you alone here."	E
"There has been much sadness in my life."	E

Externalization is also suggested when an agent's or object's actions or characteristics are described as possessed or observed. E.g.,

"I have a feeling that I have failed."	E
"I am feeling that I have failed."	
"I find myself going away."	E

"I am going away."

Finally, externalization is indicated when a simply or primarily subjective state (e.g., evaluation) is phrased such that the subjective state is an attribute of the evaluated or judged action or characteristic rather than the action or subjective state of the evaluator. E.g.,

"My face is awful." E

"I am disgusted with my face."

"Your behavior is undesirable." E

"This thing is funny." E

D. Implicit Category (I): The score "I" is used if the agent or object is implicit in the communication rather than explicitly stated. This occurs when (1) pauses or omissions lead to incomplete but scoreable statements (e.g., "You never did like...You always wanted to leave Jim out"), (2) The use of passive voice allows omission of an identifiable agent (e.g., "I was taken to school [by my mother]"), or (3) identifiable objects of action are omitted (e.g., "I am afraid [of you]").

II. Spatio-temporal distantiation

A. Spatial Category (S): The score of "S" is used when demonstratives such as "that" or "those" (in contrast to "the", "this", or "these") appear in the unit when their use is inconsistent with the spatial context of the object of communication. For example, "I don't understand those people" includes such an inconsistency when "those people" are in the same room as the speaker. In instances where either set

of demonstratives may be used, the use of "that" or "those" is also interpretable. For example, "I know that person you are talking about", is more non-immediate than "I know this (the) person you are talking about."

Spatial displacement is evident in the use of "where" or "why" when "how" could be substituted. For example, "I don't know where to begin" is less immediate than "I don't know how to begin."

Spatial displacement is also evident in the use of spatial metaphors or other phrases indicating spatial reference when such metaphors or phrases are not required by the objects or events described. For example, "I am opting out" is more non-immediate than "I am quitting."

Also, terms which designate spatial separation in lieu of quantitative statements are scored here. For example, "I know of several problems above and beyond yours" is less immediate than "I know of several problems also."

B. Temporal Category (T): The score of "T" is used if a past or future tense verb appears in the communication when its use is inconsistent with the temporal locus of the object of communication. For example, "I have not understood you in this conversation" is more non-immediate than "I do not understand you in this conversation." Also, when either past, future or present tense is possible, the use of past or future tense is interpretable. For example, "I have been listening!" is more non-immediate than "I am listening!"; therefore, the latter is scored in this category.

Temporal displacement is also evident in the use of spatial metaphors or other phrases indicating temporal reference when such metaphors or phrases are not required by the objects or events described. For example, "I'm going back and thinking about that" is more non-immediate than "I'm reflecting on that." Also, "That's like the time where he sacked Rome" is an example.

(Note: In such cases, spatial non-immediacy is not scored.)

III. Agent-action passivity

A. Unilaterality Category (U): The score of "U" is given when a consensually or assumed mutual relationship is described as if one person only is the actor and the other a recipient of the action. E.g.,

John and Eve were dancing together.	
John was dancing with Eve.	U
I kissed her.	U

B. Passivity Category (Pa): The score of "Pa" is given when the agent or object or both are described as if acted upon or driven to action by external forces. Only when an active form of the communication is possible without change in meaning is Pa scored. This occurs when the agent or object "have to" or are "forced to" be engaged in the represented action or relationship. E.g.,

I had to go.	Pa
I went.	
I must see you.	Pa

"Pa" is also scored when the agent or object is described as if his state or action was externally caused rather than

initiated by him. E.g.,

"You make me mad."	Pa
"I was unable to (can't) see him."	Pa
"You are bound to see it my way."	Pa
"You should leave this alone."	Pa

"Pa" is also scored when words such as "because" denote external causation of the agent or object's action. E.g.,

I did it because of the pressure. Pa

"Pa" is also scored when the communication is grammatically in passive voice. E.g.,

I was taken to the station.	Pa
She loved me.	
I was loved beyond my expectations.	Pa

IV. Qualification

A. Modification Category (M): The score of "M" is given when the communication is modified by qualification or objectification. The following are examples of words and phrases scored "M":

I feel (think, believe, find)	obviously	somehow
It is possible (obvious, evident)	supposedly	really
It seems	apparently	just
	probably	even
	perhaps	

I think I am getting angry.	M
He and I are really good friends.	M

Obviously, that isn't true. M

B. Intensity-extensity Category (X): The score of "X" is assigned if the intensity, extensity, or frequency of an action or relationship is modified by words such as:

some	never	mostly
few	very little	greatly
rarely	hardly	enormously

I am a little like you.	X
That is pretty funny.	X
He sort of likes me.	X

APPENDIX F

Depth of Self-Disclosure Criteria

SELF-DISCLOSURE RATING MANUAL

Depth of disclosure (information content). In using this scale you are attempting to rate the amount of information revealed, weighted in relation to its depth or superficiality. Your rating should be based solely on the content of the disclosure and should not be influenced by the way in which the disclosure is made. This is a rating that could equally well be based on a written transcript of what was said, where cues such as voice quality, inflections, and so on are unavailable. A high rating requires the revelation of those intimate aspects of one's experience that are usually revealed, if at all, to very few people. You may find it helpful to think in terms of the degree of reluctance the average person would experience in the course of normal social intercourse about making such a disclosure. Remember that you are not judging the time spent talking or the number of words spoken. While the depth-of disclosure may often increase with the length of talk, it is quite possible for people to prattle away without revealing very much of themselves and, equally, to go quite deep in a relatively few words.

You will make your ratings on a five-point scale as follows:

1. This is the lowest rating you can give, and should be applied either when a subject exercises his option not to make a disclosure at all or else if the information he provides

about himself reveals practically nothing that is in any way personal about him.

5. This is the highest rating you can give, and should be applied when you feel that the subject has made a full disclosure about himself appropriate to the context of discussion. You will apply this rating only if you feel that there is no material he has held back because he did not wish or could not bring himself to disclose it.

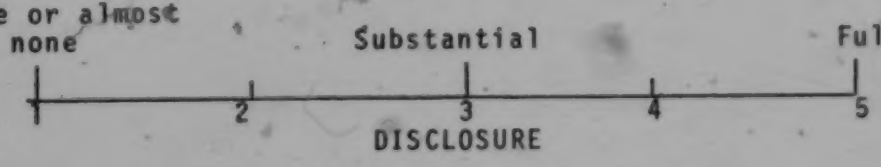
You should use the intermediate points on the scale as though they represent equal steps between no disclosure at all and full self-revelation, with point 3 representing a central position:

3. You should apply this rating if you feel that a substantial self-disclosure has been made, but that the subject could have gone considerably further than he did in revealing himself.

The remaining points on the scale fall into place naturally:

2. Some self-disclosure has occurred, but the extent is not really substantial.

4. The level of disclosure is high and the subject has revealed an aspect of himself in considerable depth, but you feel that he has not quite gone the full way and is still holding something back.



APPENDIX G

Post-Experimental Questionnaire

Please complete this questionnaire to indicate your impressions of the other person. As you can see, for every item there is a pair of opposite adjectives or phrases. Please circle the number which you feel best describes your answer to that question. For example, if you thought the other person was quite but not extremely "warm", you might circle 2, or if you thought he was just slightly "cold", you might circle 5, etc.

Please rate the other person on the following scales. Please try to express your impressions as accurately as possible.

warm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	cold
friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
anxious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	calm
open	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	closed
distant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	intimate
feminine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	masculine
flexible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	inflexible
dependent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	independent
mature	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	immature
unintelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	intelligent

How much do you think the other person likes you?

dislikes me very much 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 likes me very much

How much do you like the other person?

dislike very much 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 like very much

How comfortable was the other person with you?

very comfortable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very uncomfortable

How comfortable were you with the other person?

very comfortable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very uncomfortable

How well do you understand the other person?

very well 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 not at all well

Please go on to the next page.

How confident are you of the other person's ability to understand your feelings?

very doubtful 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very confident

Generally speaking, how comfortable do you feel about your ability to relate to others?

not comfortable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 comfortable

How closely do you think the other person listened to what you said to him?

very closely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 not at all closely

How would you feel about having the other person as your friend?

not very good 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very good

How confident are you that the other person will not talk about the personal information you have disclosed to him?

very confident 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 not at all confident

Do you think that what you said was acceptable to the other person?

very unacceptable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very acceptable

How confident are you that the other person will not ridicule you for what you have told him?

not at all confident 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very confident

Please go on to the next page.

Please rate yourself on the following scales. Please try to portray yourself as accurately as possible.

warm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	cold
friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
anxious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	calm
open	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	closed
distant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	intimate
feminine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	masculine
flexible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	inflexible
dependent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	independent
mature	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	immature
unintelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	intelligent

APPENDIX H

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Subjects' Rating of How Closely Confederate Listened to Them

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SUBJECTS' RATING OF HOW CLOSELY CONFEDERATE LISTENED TO THEM

SOURCE	DF	MS	F
Between Subjects	39		
A (Masculinity-Femininity)	1	0.00	0.00
B (Confederate Non-immediacy)	1	2.50	2.90
A x B	1	8.10	9.41*
Subjects within Groups	36	0.86	

*p< .01

APPENDIX I

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Subjects' Confidence that Confederate would not Ridicule Them

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SUBJECTS' CONFIDENCE THAT CONFEDERATE WOULD NOT RIDICULE THEM

SOURCE	DF.	MS	F
Between Subjects	39		
A (Masculinity-Femininity)	1	0.90	0.96
B (Confederate Non-immediacy)	1	0.10	0.11
A x B	1	4.90	5.25*
Subjects within Groups	36	0.93	

*p< .05

APPENDIX J

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Subject Non-immediacy in Response to the Experimental Conditions

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SUBJECT NON-IMMEDIACY IN RESPONSE TO THE EXPERIMENTAL CONDITIONS

SOURCE	DF	MS	F
Between Subjects	39		
A (Masculinity-Femininity)	1	0.05	0.06
B (Confederate Non-immediacy)	1	4.28	5.72*
A x B	1	0.05	0.06
Subjects within Groups	36	0.75	
C (Topics)	3	1.46	4.06**
C x A	3	0.94	2.61
C x B	3	0.07	0.19
C x A x B	3	0.10	0.29
C x Subjects within Groups	108	0.36	

*p< .05

**p< .01

APPENDIX K

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Subjects' Self-Rated Anxiety

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF
SUBJECTS' SELF-RATED ANXIETY

SOURCE	DF	MS	F
Between Subjects	39		
A (Masculinity-Femininity)	1	18.22	8.42*
B (Confederate Non-immediacy)	1	0.63	0.29
A x B	1	1.23	0.57
Subjects within Groups	36	2.16	

*p< .01

APPENDIX L

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Subjects' Overall Evaluation of Confederate

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF
SUBJECTS' OVERALL EVALUATION OF CONFEDERATE

SOURCE	DF	MS	F
Between Subjects	39		
A (Masculinity-Femininity)	1	102.40	4.35*
B (Confederate Non-immediacy)	1	8.10	0.34
A x B	1	0.10	0.00
Subjects within Groups	36	23.55	

*p< .05